

THE

US ISSN 0010-1443

COLONIAL NEWSLETTER

Volume 42, No.1

April 2002

Serial No. 119



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The Colonial Newsletter (CNL) is published three times a year by The American Numismatic Society (ANS), Broadway at 155th Street, New York, NY 10032. *CNL* is available at the rate of \$20 per year for ANS members and \$35 per year for non-members. For inquiries concerning *CNL*, please contact: Tarnisha Smart at the above postal address; e-mail smart@amnumsoc.org; telephone (212)234-3130 ext. 243 or FAX (212)283-2267.

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For many of us, just the mention of a Pine Tree Shilling evokes in our mind's eye visions of Puritans partaking a thanksgiving feast. Produced in a small workshop in Boston, the silver coins from the Colony of Massachusetts Bay are the first native coins minted in what would become the United States of America. Crude by today's standards, the central devices and legends of these mementos from the past incite a certain charm and provide us with a physical connection to those bygone days.

This year marks the 350th anniversary of the founding of the Boston Mint. In commemoration of this event, *CNL* and C4 (Colonial Coin Collectors Club) are publishing new research on the mint by Dr. Louis Jordan. Lou has greatly broadened our understanding of this historic coinage by investigating the technical operations of the mint which he gleaned from an extant ledger of mintmaster John Hull and also by studying the political and economic factors that influenced the operation of the mint. C4 will publish a book later this year containing Lou's research, while in this issue, *CNL* is publishing a "sneak preview" of some of the material that will be found in the book. If you are not a member of C4 and would like to purchase a copy of the book, please contact Ray Williams at e-mail address njraywms@optonline.net or telephone number (609)587-5929.

Peter Rosa, a native of New York City, produced numerous struck replicas of colonial coins, some of which are very deceptive. Recently, a set of Rosa's dies were donated to the American Numismatic Society by Wayne Sayles. John Kleeberg reports on the man and his dies and suggests that further study is needed on Rosa's colonial coin copies.

A reeded edge 1723 Wood's Hibernia halfpenny has surfaced. Wood's Money enthusiasts have not seen another example of this type. Is it unique? The coin and its reeding appear to be contemporary with the manufacture of the non-reeded specimens. Brian Danforth, an expert in Wood's Money, provides an analysis of the reeded specimen and asks if anyone has seen another example.

An "Ask the Editors" submission from Jim Spilman discusses an old newspaper article warning about counterfeits. The newspaper, dated September 12, 1787, was sold on eBay and was discussed at length by the members of the Colonial Coins eGroup. The article described a coin that the members could not identify. Finally, Mike Ringo, who is a well-known expert in the field of colonial numismatics, suggested that it was an allegorical reference to counterfeiting in general. Mike discussed several aspects of the newspaper article which *CNL* Associate Editor Lou Jordan agreed with and further expounded upon. Full text of the newspaper article along with Mike and Lou's analyses are provided within.

As I begin my tenure as editor, I would like to acknowledge the superb job done by our previous editor, Dr. Philip Mossman. Phil is one of the most knowledgeable people in the field of early American numismatics and I'm very pleased that he is continuing his involvement with *CNL* as part of the staff. The *CNL* Staff, listed on the inside of the front cover, is an extremely capable group of people and I am fortunate to have them to call upon in the production of *CNL*. Our Editor Emeritus, Jim Spilman, built *CNL* upon a strong foundation and it is my desire to follow his vision by continuing to provide a high quality publication containing ground breaking, scholarly papers focused on early American numismatics.

We welcome feedback from our patrons. With the advent of e-mail, it couldn't be easier to contact us. My e-mail address is given below.

Gary Trudgen
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We are very pleased to report that the *CNL* operating budget deficit for last year and this coming year has been underwritten by several very generous patrons. They are:

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We owe these people our sincere gratitude for their financial support of *CNL*.

It is our desire to eliminate the *CNL* budget deficit by attracting more subscribers. To this end, we are attempting to make *CNL* more visible in the overall numismatic community. We have developed a subscription form that can be e-mailed and a *CNL* hyperlink has been set up on the ANS website under On-line Resources. Also, subscription information is now included on the inside of the *CNL* front cover.

The Massachusetts Mint, British Politics and a Postscript on the Hull Ledger

by
Louis Jordan; South Bend, IN

The 1652 Backdating Hypothesis

Perhaps the most widely held assumption pertaining to Massachusetts silver coinage relates to an explanation of the continued use of the date 1652 on the coins. It has been conjectured Massachusetts coins were dated 1652 because the colonists did not want to incur the wrath of the king. By backdating the coins to 1652, which is the date found on all varieties of Massachusetts Willow, Oak and Pine tree coinage except the Oak Tree twopence, Massachusetts Bay could claim the coins had been produced during the English Commonwealth, when there was no king. This explanation is still repeated in current editions of the *Red Book* (in the Willow Tree introduction), even though it has been demonstrated to be incorrect by several specialists in colonial numismatics including Mike Hodder in the October 1987 catalog of the Norweb collection (p. 329) and Phil Mossman in his 1993 monograph, *Money of the American Colonies* (p. 84). In 1995 Hodder addressed this issue again in an article for *Coin World*.

If we examine the assumptions one must accept in order to consider this interpretation of the dating to be valid, it becomes clear the explanation is no more than a fanciful story. The Massachusetts Puritans were certainly pleased by the capture and execution of King Charles I and the establishment of the English Commonwealth in 1649. They felt freer to assert rights and liberties without fear of transgressing royal prerogatives or privileges. Massachusetts Bay aggressively asserted itself in numerous ways. During the General Court session that opened on October 14, 1651, Simon Bradstreet, Daniel Denison and Captain William Hawthorn were appointed as commissioners with the task of annexing Maine to Massachusetts Bay. Between 1652 and 1653 the towns of Kittery, York, Wells, Saco and Kennebunkport were annexed, then in 1658 Casco Bay (Portland) and the surrounding area were added. Maine became the county of Yorkshire in Massachusetts Bay. During this period Massachusetts also claimed settlements in New Hampshire as well as part of Connecticut and Rhode Island (Palfrey, vol. 1, pp. 402-4). Further, during the General Court session that opened on May 27, 1652, a law was instituted requiring all inhabitants to take an oath of loyalty to Massachusetts Bay. Previously only freemen had been required to take such an oath. Also, among other legislation passed during that session of the General Court was the expansion of the militia from a single company to four companies and the opening of a mint to produce silver shilling, sixpence and threepence coins.

This was a period of expansion. Indeed, the political situation could not have looked more favorable for the Massachusetts Bay Puritans than it did in early 1654. On December 16, 1653, Oliver Cromwell, who was Captain General of the British army, was named Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland. The English Commonwealth was now under the complete authority and protection of a fellow Puritan. The above anecdote about the backdating of the coinage requires us to believe that during these very years of growth, the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay were apprehensive that at some future time the Commonwealth would dissolve and the monarchy might return. It is clear this anxiety did not affect their territorial expansion or their political decisions. However, we must believe that such fears did affect the way they dated coins. Through this entire period of expansion we must presume Hull and the Massachusetts Bay General Court were so distressed about an unknown future possibility that they did not dare date their coins to the current year.

What makes this explanation even stranger is that, even if one were convinced the Puritans did indeed fear that at some future date the monarchy might return to power and close the mint, such a fear still would not justify the continued use of the date 1652. Naturally, a coin with any date from the Commonwealth era (up to 1660) would work equally as well as 1652. Thus, the backdating argument would seem more appropriate if the coins were dated 1652-1660 with the continued use of those dates in the 1660s and 1670s.

A further difficulty with the backdating hypothesis is that it does not explain, and indeed, seems to be discredited by, the date on the twopence coin. In 1660, to the great disappointment of Massachusetts Bay, the monarchy was restored. One would suppose under these circumstances the Massachusetts Bay General Court would be even more cautious about the date on their coins than had been the case during the English Commonwealth. However, inexplicably, we must assume the General Court disregarded their carefully thought out plan that had been followed throughout the 1650s, for when Massachusetts Bay began minting twopence coins in 1662, the date of 1662 was displayed on the new denomination coins. Thus, the backdating hypothesis implies the Puritans fearlessly minted twopence in defiance of the monarchy, displaying a date that clearly proved the coins were minted after the Restoration. However, at the same time they continued to fear retribution for minting shillings, sixpence and threepence coins as those varieties continued to display the 1652 date.

Clearly, the strange assumptions one must advocate in order to accept the 1652 backdating story are untenable. As Hodder and Mossman have explained, it is far easier and simpler to suppose the date on each denomination represented the year a particular coin denomination was authorized by the Massachusetts Bay General Court. Indeed, the facts of the coinage legislation bear this out as the shilling, sixpence and threepence were authorized in the legislation of May 26/27, 1652, while the twopence denomination was authorized in the legislation of May 16, 1662.

Further, it should be noted the coins actually produced in 1652 were the NE silver series, which did not carry any date! The revision of the coin design, which was passed by the General Court on October 19, 1652, stated the revised design:

... shall haue a double Ringe on either side with this Inscription (massachusetts) & a tree in the center on the one side, And (New England) & the date of the yeare on the other side according to a draught herewithall presented. (Crosby, p. 44)

Unfortunately the drawing of the coin, which the legislation referred to as a draft, only shows an obverse with a tree and a double ring. There is no illustration of the reverse with the date. This revised design first appeared on what is now known as the Willow Tree series, which most probably was not produced until after 1652 (below I suggest it may have been as late as 1654). Thus, it seems although the legislation was unclear as to whether "the date of the yeare" referred to the year of authorization or the year of minting, Hull took it to refer to the year of authorization and used 1652. This was also a pragmatic decision as dies could be used until they wore out and would never be outdated.

Presuppositions

When one considers the two differing interpretations it is clear the second explanation suggesting the use of the date of authorization more closely fits the facts. Given the problematic assumptions one must accept to agree with the backdating hypothesis and the unresolved difficulties presented by the 1662 date on the Oak Tree twopence, the question I would like to pose is – why would anyone consider such a supposition to have validity? I believe the answer lies in the fact that this theory assumes some presuppositions that are difficult to overcome. First, it presupposes the date

on a coin represents the year in which the coin was minted. This is an instinctive numismatic assumption, because most coins minted during the past four centuries do contain the year in which they were minted. Rarely is the year of authorization found on coins, although paper currency frequently includes the date of the legislation that authorized the emission.

Another presupposition of the backdating story is that the restored monarch, Charles II, was opposed to the mint and tried to close it down. If one accepts this presupposition, the backdating theory suggests the Massachusetts Mint was quite successful as it was able to remain in operation into the 1680s due to the shrewd foresight of Hull and the General Court in using the 1652 date on their coins and thereby tricking the monarch into thinking the coinage was from an earlier decade.

One problem with accepting this presupposition is that royal supporters in Boston did know of the continued operation of the mint. The mint was never a surreptitious operation, because the mint contract renewals were publicly available in the records of the General Court. These records were usually the first source to be examined by royal inspectors sent to Massachusetts Bay. However, beyond the obvious problem that the mint was never a clandestine operation, the presupposition that the king wanted to close the mint seems to be a reasonable assumption from various points of view. As early as elementary school, Americans learn about the inequity of the mercantile system and the numerous acts of British oppression that impelled the colonists to revolt and declare their independence in 1776. Further, we learn it was due to clever tactics and native ingenuity that the colonists were able to defeat the mighty British Empire. There is certainly truth in these generalizations as well as oversimplification and some misconceptions. However, without debating the validity of this theory, I simply want to state that it has existed for several generations and is widely accepted. If this interpretation is accepted as true for the period of the American Revolution it seems quite reasonable to assume the situation went back to the earliest years of colonization. Thus, on one level Americans are predisposed to believe interpretations that validate their basic ideas on how and why America was founded.

From another point of view there are historical facts that could be used as evidence to show the British wanted to close the mint. On May 24, 1665, four commissioners of the King presented the Massachusetts Bay General Court with a letter requesting twenty-six articles of Massachusetts law be repealed or amended. Article twenty-two stated that the 1652 mint act be repealed "for coyning is a royall prerogative, for the usurping of which ye act of indemnity is only a salvo" (Shuttleff, vol. 4, p. 213 and Crosby, p. 77). Also, from 1676 through the 1680s, a British informer named Edward Randolph spent much time in Boston reporting on illegal activities and urging the charter of Massachusetts Bay be revoked. As early as his first report to the Committee of the Lords for Trade and Plantations, which was dated October 12, 1676, and was read at the Committee meeting of November 16th, he stated:

And as a marke of soveraignty they coin mony stamped with the inscription Mattachusets and a tree in the center, on the one side, and New England, with the year 1652 and the value of the piece, on the reverse. Their money is of the standard of England for finenesse, the shillings weigh three pennyweight troy, in value of English money ninepence farthing, and the smaller coins proportionable. These are the current monies of the colony and not to be transported thence, except twenty shillings for necessary expenses, on penalty of confiscation of the whole visible estate of the transporters.

All the money is stamped with these figures, 1652, that year being the era of the commonwealth, wherein they erected themselves into a free state, enlarged their dominions, subjected adjacent colonies under their obedience, and summoned deputies to sit in the generall court, which year is still commemorated on their coin.

Randolph made similar comments in numerous other reports to the Committee and in several letter writing campaigns to top British administrators over the next decade (*Hutchinson Papers*, vol. 2, pp. 210-41 with the quote on pp. 213-14; also in Toppan, *Randolph*, vol. 2, pp. 225-59 with the quote on p. 229; Toppan, "Right to Coin," p. 221 and Sainsbury, *Calendar 1675-1676*, pp. 463-68, item 1067. Crosby, pp. 75-76, gives an incomplete quote which he attributes to a publication of 1769; undoubtedly Crosby is referring to the *Hutchinson Papers*, which is an anthology of documents on Massachusetts history first published in 1769 by Thomas Hutchinson).

In addition to the royal commissioners and Randolph there were also various individuals who characterized the Massachusetts Mint as an illegal operation in testimony they gave before the Committee of the Lords for Trade and Plantations. Finally, on June 27, 1683, the King's Bench issued a writ of *Quo warranto* against Massachusetts Bay. This was a legal action requiring the defendants to present themselves before the court and show by what authority they were permitted to exercise the liberties in question. Thirty individuals were named in the writ including John Hull. Thus, the evidence of the commissioners, the testimonies before the Lords for Trade and Plantations and the inclusion of Hull in the writ seem to indicate the British did indeed try to close the Massachusetts Mint.

Although it appears historical data support this position, a closer examination of the documents, without the preconceived notion of British opposition to the mint, leads one to a very different interpretation of the events.

Post-Restoration Relations with Massachusetts Bay: 1660-1666

With the restoration of Charles II as king of England in 1660 the monarchy and its accompanying bureaucracy was reestablished to rule over England and the British possessions. In 1660 the Council for Plantations, also known as the Council for Foreign Plantations, was established to oversee England's colonial territories. Soon thereafter the Council began hearing complaints of irregularities and injustices in the colonies.

Between March 4th and the 14th in 1661 the Council heard several individuals complain how they had been mistreated in Massachusetts Bay. Among the complainants was John Gifford who had resided in Massachusetts Bay during the 1650s and had been the principal agent for the Hammersmith Ironworks in Saugus, Massachusetts, from 1650 through 1653, when he became involved in several lawsuits and ended up spending some time in jail. From October of 1658 through April of 1662 Gifford was in England bringing suits against just about everyone connected with the Ironworks enterprise. Another complainant was Samuel Maverick, an independent adventurer who had settled on Noddles Island in Boston Harbor before the Puritans arrived. Maverick, an Anglican, refused to endure Puritan restrictions. He was fined and jailed several times for his open opposition to laws requiring all inhabitants to abide by Puritan teachings. For example, in 1646 he joined Robert Child in petitioning the General Court to recognize the legal privileges, civil liberties and religious freedoms due to Englishmen (Hutchinson, ed. Mayo, vol. 1, pp. 124-25). In 1649 Maverick was fined £150 for conspiracy and perjury. Maverick protested that the accusations were baseless but the General Court did not agree, although they did reduce the fine in half (Shurtleff, vol. 3, pp. 166-67 and 200). Eventually Maverick was forced out of Massachusetts Bay and returned to England. Also, among the group of complainants was Edward Godfrey, who had been Governor of Maine until Massachusetts Bay annexed the province.

Indeed, Massachusetts Bay had several detractors. The Puritans of the General Court had little toleration for unorthodox behavior and even less toleration for non-Puritans. When some English Quakers settled in Rhode Island and Connecticut the Massachusetts Bay General Court was alarmed. During the General Court session of August 22, 1654, a law was enacted requiring all

Quaker books be burned. Not long thereafter some Quakers tried to settle peacefully in Massachusetts Bay. In 1656 they were arrested, placed in a workhouse, subjected to a whipping of twenty lashes and required to work at hard labor until they were transported out of the Commonwealth. If they returned to Massachusetts Bay they would be punished by having one ear cut off and, should they return a third time, they would have their tongue bored with a red hot iron. Over the next few years additional Quakers, not knowing the Puritan bias against them, came to settle in the Commonwealth. In order to stop this undesirable immigration it was decreed in 1658 that any expelled Quaker who returned to their Massachusetts Bay homestead was to be summarily executed by hanging. Several Quakers were whipped and banished with at least four hanged at the Boston Commons (William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson on October 27, 1659, Mary Dyer on June 1, 1660, and William Ledea on March 14, 1661). In September of 1661 the restored monarch, Charles II, ordered a stop to capital and corporal punishment of English Quakers because of their religious beliefs (Hutchinson, ed. Mayo, vol. 1, pp. 167-75). There was even very little tolerance for members of the Church of England. Anglicans were treated as second class persons. They were not freemen, as all freemen were required to be members of the Puritan church, and thus they could not vote or hold public office. However, they were required to conform to all Puritan laws. Anglicans would be punished even if they simply expressed the opinion that they should not be required to attend the Puritan Sunday service or that they should not be taxed to pay the salaries of Puritan ministers (Earle, pp. 294-95).

Numerous morality regulations known as "blue laws" were strictly enforced; they were even difficult for many committed Puritans to follow. For example, in 1656 the young sea captain Thomas Kemble, who would later be father to the diarist Sarah Kemble Knight, upon returning home from a three year voyage, kissed his wife at the doorstep of their house on the Sabbath. The incident was immediately reported and Kemble spent two hours in the stocks for his offence (Earle, p. 247). Such punishments were handed out to non-Puritans as well. The laborers at the Hammersmith Ironworks were frequently summonsed to sessions of the Essex County Court in Salem where they paid fines for drinking, swearing and missing Sunday services.

The strict and uncompromising attitudes of the Massachusetts Bay Puritan government resulted in numerous complaints. Among the criticisms brought forward to the Council for Foreign Plantations was an undated petition, recorded into the Council record in March of 1661 which had been received from "divers persons who had been sufferers in New England on behalf of themselves and thousands there [i.e. in New England]" stating:

Through the tyranny and oppression of those in power there, multitudes of the King's subjects have been most unjustly and grievously oppressed contrary to their own laws and the laws of England, imprisoned, fined, fettered, whipt, and further punished by cutting off of their ears, branding the face, their estates seized and themselves banished [from] the country.

Among the thirteen signatories were Gifford and Godfrey (Sainsbury, *Calendar 1661-1668*, pp. 15-19, items, 42, 45, 46, 49-53, quote from item 49 on pp. 16-17).

On April 4, 1661, just a few weeks after the Council had heard several complaints against Massachusetts Bay, a petition from Ferdinando Gorges was read to the Council. In 1622 his grandfather, who had also been named Ferdinando Gorges (1566-1647), received a grant from the Council of New England for the province of Maine, while another individual named John Mason, received a similar grant for New Hampshire. In 1639 Gorges was granted a royal charter as Lord Proprietor of Maine. Massachusetts Bay believed they had the rights to the land and gradually annexed Maine between 1652-1658 during the English Commonwealth. Under the restored monarchy Gorges's grandson petitioned the Council to restore the territory to his family. Soon thereafter on April 8th the Council drafted a letter to Massachusetts Bay explaining the

Council had been appointed to manage the colonies and Massachusetts Bay would need to respond to the charges that had been brought against them. It was also suggested that agents be appointed to represent their positions to the Council when requested (Sainsbury, *Calendar 1661-1668*, pp. 22-23, items, 64 and 66).

By the end of April several additional petitions against Massachusetts had been forwarded, including a petition from Robert Mason for the restoration of his patent to New Hampshire. One of these letters is particularly interesting in relation to Massachusetts coinage. It is an undated and unsigned letter that accompanied a proposal signed by John Gifford. As both the signed proposal and the unsigned letter discuss ore and mineral mines in Massachusetts Bay it is quite likely Gifford was the author of both documents. The unsigned letter detailed several problems with the laws of Massachusetts Bay. This document contains the earliest reference accusing the Massachusetts Mint of illegal acts. The summary of the letter in the Calendar of Colonial Papers states:

... they have acted repugnant to the laws of England ; they have allowed the King's coin to be brought and melted down in Boston to be new coined there, by which means they gain threepence in every shilling, and lessen his Majesty's coin a full fourth.

In this 1661 complaint it is not suggested that the minting of coins was considered to be an illegal activity. The complaint simply stated British sterling coinage was being melted at the Massachusetts Bay Mint to produce lighter weight Massachusetts coinage. The melting of the king's coin was the offence that was being disclosed. The weight reduction of Massachusetts Bay silver was mentioned as it explained why British coinage was being melted, although the complaint did not indicate the weight reduction itself was thought to be illegal (Sainsbury, *Calendar 1661-1668*, pp. 24-26, item, 73-78 and 80; quote from item 78 on p. 26.)

Once the April 8th letter from the Council reached Boston, requesting Massachusetts Bay defend its position, there were discussions about sending some agents to London. On December 24, 1661, a group of magistrates and church elders selected Simon Bradstreet and John Norton to be sent to the court of King Charles II in London as advocates for the Commonwealth's interests and liberties. Bradstreet was one of the Governor's nine Assistants and was one of two Commissioners for the Commonwealth to the United Colonies of New England, while Norton was the Minister of the First Church of Christ in Boston. William Davis and John Hull accompanied the agents as their aides. At a December 31, 1661 special session of the General Court, Captain William Davis was selected to be part of a four person committee allowed to make agreements to procure money for the Commonwealth with the authorization of the General Court.

The group arrived in London on March 24, 1662, and conducted several meetings with the Council. An interesting episode from the 1662 negotiations was related in a later document. In 1684 a committee of the Massachusetts Bay General Court was appointed to produce a response to King Charles II concerning the right of the Commonwealth to retain its charter. In a draft of a report by the committee dated October 30, 1684, outlining a proposed response to the king, there is a passage about the mint which included the following detail:

For in 1662, when our first agents were in England, some of our money was showed by Sir Thomas Temple at the Council-Table, and no dislike thereof manifested by any of those right honourable persons: much less a forbidding of it.

Later retellings of this event embellished the Temple presentation to include the story of Temple telling the King that the Massachusetts coins displayed the Royal Oak at Whiteladies, where Charles had hidden on September 6, 1650, to escape capture following his defeat at Worcester on September 3rd by Cromwell's forces. Unfortunately, the month and day of Temple's

presentation was not recorded in this 1684 document, where the entire passage on the mint was struck from the final version of the official 1684 response. Although Temple arrived in London about a month before Norton and Bradstreet, the 1684 document stated this specific presentation by Temple took place after the Massachusetts Bay delegation was in London. It is interesting to note Temple was a friend of Hull, and, in fact Hull was named as one of four executors in Temple's will. Possibly Hull, who was an advisor to the delegation, may have been present when this event occurred (Crosby, pp. 75-76; the appendix to Hull's *Diary*, p. 282 and Hutchinson, ed. Mayo, vol. 1, p. 191).

That no council member disapproved of the coinage suggests the British government did not object to the Massachusetts Mint. The mint was not a concern for the Council or the king. In fact, on June 28, 1662, King Charles II sent a letter to the Massachusetts Bay delegation of Norton and Bradstreet confirming the Commonwealth's patent, charter and "all the privileges and liberties granted unto them in and by the same," along with an offer to renew the charter whenever the Commonwealth desired it. The letter also pardoned subjects for treasonous acts committed during the interregnum but required the Commonwealth's laws to be reviewed and anything against the King's authority or government should be annulled and repealed. The letter also required an oath of allegiance to the king be administered and that freedom and liberty should be allowed to any individuals wishing to follow the practices of the Church of England (Hutchinson, ed. Mayo, vol. 1, pp. 187-88; the full letter is in *Hutchinson Papers*, vol. 2, pp. 100-104). Although the letter was conciliatory and quite positive the General Court of Massachusetts Bay was not pleased. They understood their rights to govern and create laws for the colony were being questioned; further they had little toleration for the Church of England or any other non-Puritan sect.

It was not until two years later, on April 23, 1664, that Charles II appointed Colonel Richard Nichols, George Cartwright, Sir Robert Carr and Samuel Maverick as Royal Commissioners with full power to examine and determine all complaints and appeals concerning the liberties and privileges granted to the New England colonies in various charters (Shurtleff, vol. 4, pt. 2, p. 157; Hutchinson, ed. Mayo, vol. 1, pp. 443-44). The commissioners traveled to America and first turned their attention to the subjugation of New Netherland. Following that task the commissioners traveled to Massachusetts Bay and on May 8, 1665, requested that the General Court supply them with a copy of the Commonwealth's laws so they could determine if any were "Contrary & derogatory to the king's authority & Government" (Shurtleff, vol. 4, pt. 2, p. 194; Crosby, p. 77). Twenty-one days later on May 24th the commissioners sent a letter to the General Court requesting twenty-six articles be repealed or amended from the Commonwealth's laws. Article twenty-two of their letter requested the repeal of the coining act stating, "coyning is a royall prerogative, for the usurping of which ye act of indemnity is only a salvo" (Shurtleff, vol. 4, pt. 2, pp. 211-13 with the quote on p. 213; Crosby, p. 77). This was the first time British commissioners had formally stated the Massachusetts Mint was illegal in that it was usurping a royal prerogative.

On August 7, 1665, an order from the king was presented to the General Court requesting the Massachusetts Bay governor and other officials travel to London and answer the charges brought against them. There was little desire on the part of the governor and his assistants to make such a trip. Certainly they were not eager to debate what they considered to be their rights by a charter from Charles I. Further, in April of 1665 the great plague had hit London and a few months later the British declared war on the Dutch. Massachusetts Bay intentionally delayed in responding to the king's order. This turned out to be a shrewd policy for the longer they stalled the less likely it seemed they would be required to send any delegates. In September there was the great London fire, followed in 1666 by a revolt in Scotland. Soon thereafter France joined the Dutch in their war against Britain. In this climate Massachusetts Bay decided to send a gift of ship masts to Britain instead of sending delegates. During the 1666 fall session of the Massachusetts Bay General

Court it was ordered that two large masts were to be sent immediately to the king's navy and a ship load more were to follow in the spring. The Massachusetts Bay gifts to the navy were gratefully accepted. Due to the pressing military issues no further discussion took place concerning the twenty-six contested articles of Massachusetts law.

In 1667 the war against the Dutch and the French ended with the Peace of Breda, signed on July 21st. But in that same year there was a major change in the King's Council with Lord Clarendon's impeachment. He was replaced by Lords Buckingham and Arlington who advised Charles to enter into several secret alliances. These actions resulted in another war with Holland in March of 1672 and another purge of the ministers in 1673. Soon thereafter, the second Dutch war ended with the Treaty of Westminster signed on February 9, 1674. A stable ministry and peace at home allowed for an opportunity to deal with colonial problems once again. To that end the Council for Trade and Plantations was dissolved on March 12, 1675, and replaced by the Committee for Trade and Plantations. This was a very powerful committee consisting of appointed members selected from the Privy Council (the King's Council). These Lords were to meet weekly and report concerns and recommendations back to the full Council, which could then initiate actions as needed to remedy any problems.

Thus for the most part, Massachusetts Bay had been left alone from the Restoration in 1660 through 1675. During this period the Council for Trade and Plantations had not objected to the mint. In fact, the only direct criticism of the mint was from the four appointed commissioners. They spent two weeks reading Massachusetts laws and based on their reading considered the mint to impinge on royal prerogatives. However, even they had not thought it to be a major problem, listing it at number 22 out of 26 contested articles.

Most unfortunately, when the British were finally ready to discuss the various problems identified in the Massachusetts Bay law, the Commonwealth became embroiled in a costly and bloody war against the Indian Sachem known as King Philip. This war lasted from June of 1675 through February of 1677.

Renewed Interest in Massachusetts Bay: The Complaints of 1675-1677

Soon after the Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations was constituted, both Robert Mason and Ferdinando Gorges brought petitions requesting restitution of their lands of New Hampshire and Maine from Massachusetts Bay. On December 1, 1675, Mason submitted a report to the committee by a Captain Wyborne who had visited Massachusetts Bay in 1673. Wyborne complained of several irregularities, arbitrary laws and resistance to the king's commissioners (Sainsbury, *Calendar 1675-1676*, item 721 on pp. 306-8). These petitions resulted in a royal letter being sent to Massachusetts Bay in March of 1676 requesting the Commonwealth to send agents to London to argue the case for Massachusetts against the claims of Mason and Gorges. The letter was to be taken to Massachusetts by Edward Randolph, a cousin of Robert Mason. Randolph was to question the Governor's Council, known in Massachusetts Bay as the upper house of the General Court, that is, the House of Assistants. Randolph was also given supplementary instructions from the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations detailing twelve areas of inquiry on which Randolph was to bring back intelligence; these areas of inquiry concerned the government and laws of the colony, the population, religion, military strength, economic resources, imports and exports, boundaries, taxes, relationships with other colonies and related information. Included was an abstract of information on Massachusetts which Randolph was to verify; there was no mention of coinage in this abstract, nor was it directly mentioned as an area of inquiry (Toppan, *Randolph*, vol. 2, pp. 196-201 and Sainsbury, *Calendar 1675-1676*, pp. 360-63, items 844-49).

In mid-June of 1676, about a week after landing in Boston, Randolph wrote a long letter to the British Secretary of State, Sir Henry Coventry, including much information on Massachusetts Bay but with no reference to minting. Soon after returning to London, Randolph sent a report to the king on September 20th detailing his meetings with numerous New England government officials in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He explained the governor of Massachusetts Bay,

... freely declared to me that the lawes made by your Majestie and your parliament obligeth them in nothing but what consists with the interest of that colony, that the legislative power is and abides in them solely to act and make lawes by virtue of a charter from your Majesties royall father.

Randolph went on to state he met several colonists who complained "...of the arbitrary government and oppression of their magistrates and doe hope your Majestie will be pleased to free them from this bondage by establishing your own royall authority among them..." (Toppan, *Randolph*, vol. 2, pp. 216-25 with quotes from pp. 219 and 223, also in *Hutchinson Papers*, vol. 2, pp. 240-51 with the quotes from pp. 243 and 247 and Sainsbury, *Calendar 1675-1676*, pp. 455-66, item 1037).

About three weeks later, on October 12th, Randolph send a lengthy report to the members of the Committee for Trade and Plantations detailing much information and presenting several criticisms of the government in Massachusetts Bay. The report was read at the committee meeting of November 16, 1676. Randolph answered each of the twelve areas of inquiry the committee had requested him to investigate. Part of his answer to their first inquiry, "Where the Legislative and Executive Powers of the Government of New England are seated," was a discussion of the structure of the government which included the comments quoted above, that "... as a marke of soveraignty they coin mony... ." Interestingly, at this point in time, Randolph did not include the coinage comments under his answer to the second point of inquiry which was, "What Laws and ordinances, are now in force there, derogatory or contradictory to those of England, and what Oath is prescribed by the Government." To this question Randolph included ten points but nothing on coinage. Thus Randolph was either not aware of, or chose not to follow the comments in the 1664 report of the four royal commissioners where minting was listed as a law that needed to be repealed or amended (*Hutchinson Papers*, vol. 2, pp. 210-41; also Toppan, *Randolph*, vol. 2, pp. 225-59; Toppan, "Right to Coin," p. 221 and Sainsbury, *Calendar 1675-1676*, pp. 463-68, item 1067).

The governor of Massachusetts Bay and his assistants had originally told Randolph they were not able to send agents to London as the king had requested. However, by the October session of the General Court the Commonwealth had reconsidered and elected William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley to represent them at the king's court. The agents arrived in London in December and presented a letter to the king from the Massachusetts Bay governor, John Leverett, and the General Court. The letter apologized for not sending agents earlier, stating the colony had been in the middle of a war against several Indian tribes and all their resources had been expended on defense, therefore they had not been able to address the king's request. However, now that the main enemy, the Indian Sachem known as Philip, was dead, they were assigning William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley to be their agents defending the Massachusetts claims to New Hampshire and Maine (Toppan, *Randolph*, vol. 2, pp. 262-65 and Sainsbury, *Calendar 1675-1676*, p. 513, item 1186).

With the Massachusetts Bay agents present in London, Edward Randolph stepped up his campaign. On May 6, 1677, Randolph forwarded a brief memorandum to the Committee on Foreign Affairs entitled, "Representation of ye Affaires of New England," which was sometimes referred to as "The present State of the affaires of New England." This document listed eight accusations against Massachusetts Bay as follows: (1) they were usurpers without a royal charter, (2) they did not take an oath of allegiance to the King, (3) they protected Cromwell's confidants, Major General William Goffe and Lieutenant General Edward Whaley, who had participated in the

murder of Charles I, (4) "They Coyne money with their owne Impress," (5) they had murdered some English Quakers because of their religious beliefs, (6) they opposed the king's commissioners in the settlement of New Hampshire and Maine, (7) they imposed an oath of fidelity to Massachusetts Bay on all inhabitants and finally, (8) they violated the acts of trade and navigation robbing the king of his custom duties. This document was forwarded to the Lords for Trade and Plantations for discussion at their meeting on June 7th which led to further investigations (Hall, *Randolph*, pp. 33-36 and Toppan, *Randolph*, vol. 2, pp. 265-68 as well as Toppan, "Right to Coin," p. 221 and Sainsbury, *Calendar 1677-1680*, pp. 79-80, items 218-20. Also, under the date 1680 this list is found in *Hutchinson Papers*, vol. 2, pp. 264-65 and Toppan, *Randolph*, vol. 3, pp. 78-79).

The Pronouncements of 1677

During the June 7, 1677 meeting of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, the Lords requested the cases of Mason and Gorges against Massachusetts Bay be expedited. Additionally, Randolph's memorandum to the Committee on Foreign Affairs was forwarded and read at this meeting. In discussing the memorandum the Lords decided they should seek legal opinions before acting on the memorandum. On June 8th an order of the King in Council stated the Lords for Trade and Plantations were to seek the opinions of such judges as they saw fit. Also, on the 8th, the Lords for Trade and Plantations issued a report stating the Massachusetts agents were to be notified that they would be required to answer the observations of Randolph as well as defend against the claims of Mason and Gorges (Toppan, *Randolph*, vol. 2, pp. 268-72 and Sainsbury, *Calendar 1677-1680*, pp. 102-3, items 289-90 and 294 for the events of June 7-12 and pp. 79-80, item 218 on the document of May 6th).

The Committee of the Lords for Trade and Plantations met a few days later on June 12th to discuss the eight point memorandum by Edward Randolph. The Lords decided Randolph's first and second points were to be referred to the judges and the King's Council, the committee would inquire into the third point and examine the Massachusetts charter on the fourth and fifth points, while the sixth, seventh and eighth points were to be "looked upon as matters of State." The fourth point, on the coinage of money, was mentioned in the same sentence in which they responded to the fifth point on the execution of some English Quakers in 1659. The committee stated:

The Fourth Head concerning Coining of Money And The Fifth that they have put His Majesties Subjects to death for Religion are to be referred, and examination to bee made whether, by their Charter, or by the right of making Laws they are enabled soe to doe. (Toppan, *Randolph*, vol. 2, pp. 271-72; Toppan, "Right to Coin," p. 221, also Sainsbury, *Calendar 1677-1680*, pp. 103-4, item 294)

The discussion on the Massachusetts Mint and the execution of Quakers continued into July. On July 19th Randolph was brought in to testify before the Lords for Trade and Plantations. Then, the Massachusetts agents William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley were brought in and ordered to defend the Commonwealth against Randolph's charges. According to a report of the meeting made by the Lords for Trade and forwarded to the King by the Lord of the Privy Seal, the agents answered that they had not been authorized to speak on behalf of Massachusetts except in the land claim disputes. However, they consented to reply "...as private men, and His Majesties subjects, as far as they were acquainted with the occurrence and transactions of ye Government under which they had lived." Concerning coining the minutes report:

That Upon the Article where they are charged to have coyned money, they confess it, and say they were necessitated to it, about the yeare 1652, for the support of their Trade, and have not, hitherto,

discontinued it, as being never excepted against, or disallowed by His Majesty And doe therefore submit this matter to His Majectie and beg pardon if they have offended. (Toppan, *Randolph*, vol. 2, pp. 274-77 with quote on 276, Toppan, "Right to Coin," p. 221 and Sainsbury, *Calendar 1677-1680*, pp. 122-23, items 350-51)

On July 27th the Massachusetts Bay agents were again called to a meeting of the Committee of the Lords for Trade and Plantations. According to the committee minutes the agents were told the decision of the committee on several points. The committee asked for a commission to look into the boundary disputes, they insisted the Navigation Act be "religiously observed" and explained that some Massachusetts Bay laws would need to be revised while any future laws should be sent to the Privy Council for review. As to the mint the minutes stated:

That Whereas they had transgressed, in presuming to Coyne Money, which is an Act of Sovereignty, and to which they were by noe Grant sufficiently authorized, That tho' His Majesty may, upon due application, grant them a Charter containing such a Power; yet they must sollicit His Majesties Pardon for the offence that is past.

The committee assured Stoughton and Bulkley that "His Majestie will not destroy their Charter, but rather by a Supplemental one to bee given them, set all things right that are now amiss" (Toppan, *Randolph*, vol. 2, pp. 277-80 with the quotes on pp. 278 and 279-80; Toppan, "Right to Coin," p. 222 and Sainsbury, *Calendar 1677-1680*, pp. 135-36, item 371).

Thus after all the complaints by Randolph about the mint, the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations had decided although Massachusetts Bay had not been authorized to open a mint they were recommending the privilege to coin be added to their charter! Clearly, this ruling shows there was no concerted governmental effort to oppose or close the mint. Although several individuals had listed the mint among their complaints against Massachusetts Bay, the British government acknowledged the problem but was ready to remedy the situation.

On August 2, 1677, Stoughton and Bulkley were again brought before the Committee of the Lords for Trade and Plantations where they were lectured on the errors of the Massachusetts government and told what they must do. As to the mint the Lords were rather lenient stating that the agents would need to discuss the matter with the Attorney General about soliciting the King's pardon for past offenses of coining money without authority. Also, the Attorney General was to attend to the action:

That an Additional Charter bee prepared containing a Power from His Majestie to Coyn Money, and to make all forreigne coins current in that Country." (Toppan, *Randolph*, vol. 2, pp. 281-84 with the quote on p. 283 and Toppan, "Right to Coin," p. 222)

The news of the pronouncements of the Lords for Trade and Plantations was gratefully received in Massachusetts as the charter had not been abolished and the Commonwealth hoped they would be granted a minting license. During the fall session of the Massachusetts Bay General Court, in October of 1677, a proclamation was issued that a day of Thanksgiving would be observed on November 15th. The preamble to the proclamation stated the reasons for the observance were because God had spared them from an outbreak of an infectious disease and because God had been on their side in the London proceedings,

... frustrating the hopes of our Malicious Adversaries and graciously considering us in the midst of our fears, giving us favour in the eyes of our Soveraign Lord and King, and his most horourable Council as Letters received from Agents do fully inform us

Also, an order in the record of the General Court under this date stated the treasurer would provide the king with ten barrels of cranberries, two hogsheads of their best samp [coarsely ground Indian corn made into a porridge] and three thousand codfish. Additionally, two other laws were instituted. The General Court also resolved that "the acts of Trade and Navigation be exactly and punctually observed by this his Majesties Colony." However, in defiance of another suggestion from the Committee for Trade and Plantations, the General Court not only revived the oath of fidelity formerly required of inhabitants of the Commonwealth but enacted a law "requiring all persons as well inhabitants as strangers (that have not taken it) to take an Oath of Fidelity to the Country" [the country refers to Massachusetts Bay] (Hall, *Randolph*, pp. 37-39; Palfrey, vol. 2, pp. 212-13 and Sainsbury, *Calendar 1677-1680*, pp. 140-42, items 380-81; Cushing, *Laws*, vol. 3, pp. 516-19. This preamble is found in the printed version of the law but it was not included in the record of the General Court, see Shurtleff, vol. 5, pp. 154-56; the preamble is summarized in Sainsbury, *Calendar 1677-1680*, p. 164, item 429).

During the fall session, on October 22nd, the General Court sent a letter to their agents in London, Stoughton and Bulkley, stating they were optimistic about the future and would forward an additional £1,000 to them so they could continue their work. The letter encouraged them to defend the Massachusetts patents to New Hampshire and Maine. The Court also stated "As for the coynage, or any other additionall priviledge offered, (not prejudicall to our charter,) wee would not slight, but humbly accept." They also encouraged the agents to protect the shipping and fishing rights of the Commonwealth. The letter concluded that they hoped the men of Portsmouth would be able to send the king a ship load of masts if the king would send a ship to pick them up and from Boston the General Court would send the king some codfish, samp and cranberries (Shurtleff, vol. 5, pp. 163-64; Crosby, p. 82 and Hall, *Randolph*, pp. 39-40). Further, on the 24th, Governor Leverett, with the consent of the General Court, sent a letter to the British Secretary of State, Sir Joseph Williamson, thanking the secretary for his "most friendly and christian rediness to promote the equity and righteousness of their cause," in the face of false representations made against them (Sainsbury, *Calendar 1677-1680*, p. 171, item 456).

Thus, in December of 1677 the situation looked quite good for the Puritans. The war against the Indian King Philip was over. Philip was dead and a treaty had been finalized on February 12, 1677. It appeared as if Massachusetts would also be victorious over their detractors in London. Indeed, the Massachusetts agents became bolder petitioning the king on December 16th that the towns of Dover, Portsmouth, Exeter and Hampton (all in New Hampshire) remain under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay and suggesting they be allowed to coin both silver and gold coins. The petition stated they had:

... received a signification of the King's promise of pardon to the Massachusetts Government, and particularly of the offence of coining money without the King's authority, with His majesty's license for setting up a Mint within said Colony for coining gold and silver with such impress as His Majesty shall think fit to pass current in said colony only... [the agents then went on to] implore His Majesty to add the grant of these four towns, with the land and royalties, and the liberty of coining money. (Sainsbury, *Calendar 1677-1680*, pp. 211-12, item 587 with the quote on p. 211)

A Reversal of Fortune: 1678-1684

This increased boldness soon turned against them. In January, Robert Mason put forward a counter petition to the king asking that the New Hampshire towns not be annexed to Massachusetts. Both petitions, along with a petition by Gorges for Maine were forwarded from the King's Council to the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations with a request that a report on the matter be sent back to the Council (Sainsbury, *Calendar 1677-1680*, p. 211, item 456). While

the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations were conducting their investigation, the Massachusetts Bay agents Stoughton and Bulkley made an agreement with Gorges to purchase his claim to Maine and they made a similar offer to Mason. Mason reported this to the Lords at their meeting of March 25, 1678 (Sainsbury, *Calendar 1677-1680*, pp. 224-26, items 629-32). The Lords were quite distressed that the Massachusetts agents were trying to bypass their authority. On the 28th Stoughton and Bulkley were asked to appear before the Committee for Trade and Plantations and explain themselves. During their explanation they stated they had obtained a copy of Randolph's extensive report against Massachusetts Bay (of October 12, 1676), and hoped to publicly discredit it by reopening the inquiry. Robert Mason appeared before the committee stating he had given the report to the representatives from Massachusetts Bay because he had been duped into believing a servant to the Lord of the Privy Seal had previously given them a copy (Hall, *Randolph*, p. 42; Toppan, *Randolph*, vol. 2, pp. 286-87; Palfrey, vol. 2, p. 216 and Sainsbury, *Calendar 1677-1680*, pp. 229-30, item 640).

Upon hearing of the breach in security, Randolph attended the April 8th meeting of the Lords for Trade and Plantations, explaining his October 1676 report had been confidential and that the Massachusetts agents could only have obtained it surreptitiously. Further, Randolph explained Massachusetts continued to disregard the authority of the Committee. He informed the Committee that the October 1677 session of the Massachusetts General Court had only addressed the Lords request that the colony adhere to the Navigation Acts but the General Court had been silent on other areas of concern and that they had reimposed the oath of fidelity. Randolph also reported, "Nor had they even suspended their Coining of money (which they confess to bee a crime) until His Majasties Pleasure bee knowne." Following the testimony of Mason and Randolph the Committee for Trade and Plantations inquired of the Massachusetts agents if these events were correct. Once it was determined these events had occurred the committee changed their attitude and took a stern stance against Massachusetts Bay, sending an inquiry to the Attorney General asking whether the Massachusetts charter could be nullified (Hall, *Randolph*, pp. 41-44; Toppan, *Randolph*, vol. 2, pp. 289-98 with the quote on coining money from p. 295 and Sainsbury, *Calendar 1677-1680*, pp. 233-36, item 653).

Between December of 1677 and April of 1678 the position of the Committee for Trade and Plantations was completely reversed. Rather than accommodating Massachusetts Bay, inquiries were started on nullifying their charter. Numerous accusations were made on both sides. Randolph became the champion of the nullification movement with the support of the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations and the Privy Council. In fact, soon thereafter, on May 18th, Stoughton and Bulkley were called to the committee meeting of the Lords for Trade and Plantations where the opinion of the Attorney General was read, stating the offenses of Massachusetts Bay were sufficient to void their charter. This was the start of the process that would lead to the issuing of the writ *Quo warranto* against Massachusetts. Also, on this day the Lords for Trade and Plantations, with the consent of the king, directed that a commission be issued to Edward Randolph to make him Collector of Customs in New England (Hall, *Randolph*, pp. 44-45; Toppan, *Randolph*, vol. 3, pp. 2-6 and Sainsbury, *Calendar 1677-1680*, pp. 253-54, items 703-6).

From this point it was simply a matter of time before the charter was revoked. However, the General Court of Massachusetts Bay continued to believe they could prevail. During the 1678 fall session of the General Court a letter was sent to the Commonwealth's agents in London, William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley, asking them to continue to lobby for the minting privilege. The letter included an explanation that the mint was needed to keep up the colony's prosperity and that this prosperity increased the king's customs that they paid annually. The General Court also stated they would change the "Impresse" on their coins (that is, the images and legends) if the king wished (Shurtleff, vol. 5, pp. 201-3, Crosby, p. 83 and Toppan, "Right to Coin," p. 222).

Further petitions continued through the entire period of the Hull mint. Indeed, in a special February session of the General Court in 1682 instructions were composed for two new Massachusetts agents being sent to London. These instructions included information concerning the necessity of the mint, as follows:

You shall informe his majestie that we tooke up stamping of silver meerley upon necessitie, to prevent cheats by false peeces of eight, which were brought hither in the time of the late confusions, and wee have been well informed that his majestie had knowledge thereof, yet did not manifest nay dissatisfaction therat until of very late; and if that be a trespass upon his majesties royal prerogative, of which wee are ignorant, wee humbly beg his majesties pardon and gratiouse allowance therein, it being so exceeding necessary for our civil commerce, & no way, as wee humbly conceive, detrimentall to his royal majestie.

The “time of the late confusions” is a reference to the period from the outbreak of civil war in 1642 through the demise of the English Commonwealth in 1660 (Shurtleff, vol. 5, pp. 333-34, 346-49 with the quote on p. 347; Crosby, p. 83 and Toppan, “Right to Coin,” p. 223. The letter of instructions is dated February 15th, but it was included in the record of the General Court under the date of March 17, 1682). Just three and a half months later, June 3, 1682, was the official expiration date of the final Commonwealth mint contract to Hull and Sanderson. Thus, during the entire life of the mint the Massachusetts Bay General Court continued to believe they could persuade the King to grant them the privilege of minting.

On June 27, 1683, the King’s Bench issued a writ of *Quo warranto* against the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. This was a legal action inquiring into the validity of their charter asking “By what authority” they exercised the liberties in question. The writ named thirty individuals including Governor Bradstreet, Deputy Governor Danforth and the Assistants as well as several other government officials. The writ listed Massachusetts officials as of the election of May 24, 1682, using the same order of names as is found in the General Court records. As John Hull was one of the elected Assistants that year he was named in the writ. Thus, Hull was named in the writ as he was an elected official and not because of his position as mintmaster. Edward Randolph landed in Boston from London with the writ *Quo warranto* on October 26th. John Hull had died on October 1st and thus never learned of the action (Shurtleff, vol. 5, pp. 350 for the 1682 election results and pp. 421-22 for the text; Hart, vol. 1, p. 565 and Hutchinson, ed. Mayo, pp. 284-87).

1684-1704: From the Abolition of the Charter to Queen Anne’s Proclamation

Massachusetts Bay continued to resist. The writ was overturned due to technicalities but a different writ of *Scire facias* (to show cause why the charter should not be revoked) was issued by the King’s Bench on April 14, 1684, resulting in the abolition of the charter on October 23rd. Even after the charter was revoked Massachusetts Bay continued to hope for a new charter with the right to reestablish the mint. The question of a mint was brought up in November of 1684. The King’s Council was establishing instructions for a newly appointed Royal Governor who would abolish the Massachusetts General Court. One question that was circulated to the Commissioners of Customs and the Commissioners of the Treasury was, should the king allow a mint to operate. The question reappeared in July of 1686 in a discussion of whether a mint should be reestablished in Massachusetts. The London mint was adamant that Massachusetts Bay should only be allowed to reopen a mint if they would conform to the British standard for both fineness and weight so the coins would be equivalent in intrinsic value to the coins of England.

There were no further requests to reopen the mint during the reign of the British appointed government. In November of 1688 William of Orange landed in England claiming his right to the

throne. By December he had defeated James II and in January of 1689 William and Mary were pronounced King and Queen. The news reached Boston on April 4th. Then, on April 18th the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay rebelled against the autocratic governor, Edmund Andros, who had been appointed by James II. Andros and his allies were jailed and eventually sent back to England for trial. The new king, William III, supported the colonists and began hearings to establish a new charter for Massachusetts Bay.

The colony's agents in London who were negotiating the specifics of the charter believed there was still the possibility of obtaining the privilege to coin and continued to request the reestablishment of the mint. On December 10, 1690, the Massachusetts Bay General Court authorized the first emission of paper currency and on February 3, 1691, authorized an additional emission. Later that year, on October 7, 1691, Massachusetts Bay was granted a new charter but without the right to mint coins. The request for the right to reestablish the mint continued with a solicitation forwarded by the Massachusetts agents to the Royal Commissioners of the Mint on January 12, 1692. This request was countered by a letter from the Royal Commissioners on January 19, 1692, stating they did not feel such a mint was necessary but if it was approved the coins should be equal in intrinsic value to those of the London mint. Faced with what would be a prolonged campaign of lobbying, and then being required to mint coins equal in intrinsic value to the British, Massachusetts Bay decided to drop the idea of reestablishing a mint and concentrate on legislating the value of Spanish American silver. Soon after 1700 there were some attempts by independent merchants to produce small change tokens and in 1703 the General Court investigated the possibility of obtaining some copper "pence" from a British supplier. These initiatives were soon abandoned. On March 24, 1704, an act was passed authorizing a new emission of paper currency and on June 18 of that year Queen Anne issued a proclamation on coin values in the colonies. From this point on the Massachusetts Bay General Court focused their attention on printing paper currency and regulating Spanish American and other foreign silver and gold coinage. There were no further discussions on minting coinage.

British Opposition to the Massachusetts Mint: A Summary

There was no concerted effort by the king and his ministers to crush the Massachusetts Mint. The central conflict was Massachusetts Bay's seizure of New Hampshire and Maine. The mint was simply listed as another area of concern. In 1662 British ministers did not object to the mint. In 1664 the mint was listed as an area of concern by the commissioners, but nothing came of their report for over a decade. When the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations finally took up the charges in 1677 they again did not consider minting to be a significant problem. Indeed, the Lords immediately offered to assist by revising the charter so it would include the privilege to mint coins. When the situation turned against Massachusetts Bay, the focus of the British attack was the nullification of the charter. Even after the charter had been nullified, ministers in Britain continued to ask if the mint should be reestablished under the newly appointed royal governor. Four years later, after overthrowing the governor appointed by James II, the inhabitants of Massachusetts continued to believe the new king, William III, would grant them permission to reestablish the mint. From these actions it is clear, although the mint had detractors, the British government did not make an effort to shut it down; indeed they tried to accommodate the mint. Certainly the government of Massachusetts Bay believed the British ministers would support their mint as they continued to request the reestablishment of the mint. The only impediment was that the Commissioners of the London mint required a reestablished mint to produce coins equal in intrinsic value to those of the London mint.

The Massachusetts Mint was not under political pressure, fearing that they might be closed down any day. In fact, during the life of the mint, there was no direct attack from British authorities. The most significant political problem faced by the mint was the potential nullification of the charter of

Massachusetts Bay. This would not only close the mint but would nullify all laws passed by the General Court. However, before this event occurred the mint seems to have ceased operations when the seven year mint contract was not renewed in 1682.

This analysis of events is not new. Indeed, it was the view expressed in colonial Massachusetts. In 1764 Thomas Hutchinson wrote his famous work, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, in which he said of the mint:

No notice was taken of it by the parliament, nor by Cromwell, and having been thus indulged, there was a tacit allowance of it afterwards even by King Charles the second, for more than 20 years; and although it was made one of the charges against the colony, when the charter was called into question, no great stress was laid upon it. It appeared to have been so beneficial, that, during Sir Edmund Andross's administration, endeavours were used to obtain leave for continuing it, and the objections against it seemed not to have proceeded from its being an encroachment upon the prerogative, for the motion was referred to the master of the mint, and the report against it was upon mere prudential considerations. (Hutchinson, ed. Mayo, vol. 1, pp. 151-52, part of one of Hutchinson's original footnotes to his text)

Postscript: Economic Considerations and the Hull Ledger

Certainly, British politics is a factor that needs to be considered in the development and eventual decline of the mint. But political problems were not the central issues the mint had to overcome. Rather, I would suggest looking at economic factors. To understand the success and eventual decline of this business we must focus on the profitability and productivity of the mint.

The Massachusetts Bay mint transformed clipped Spanish American cob coinage into Massachusetts silver. As long as it was profitable to convert cobs into Massachusetts silver the mint could be profitable. However, to understand the success of the mint, we need to know how the mint operated and have some concept of the quantity of coins minted and the methods of production.

What has, and continues, to limit our assessment of the Massachusetts Mint is a lack of sources. We have a few essential items such as the legislation from the General Court, some records relating how the mint committee went about the process of enacting the legislation as well as bits and pieces of information from other sources, primarily in depositions of individuals with complaints against Massachusetts Bay or in official responses to those complaints. There are also several extant coins and a few comments in John Hull's surviving diaries. This evidence gives us a basic understanding of the mint but it does not tell us much about daily operations. We can quote the legislation but we do not know how Hull interpreted this legislation in practice. Indeed, we do not even know if the mint was a full-time or a part time enterprise.

To better understand the written evidence I produced a chronological listing of events related to the mint. Naturally, this included relevant information in the Hull diaries which, in turn, led me to study Clarke's 1940 biography of Hull. On pages 63-64 Clarke mentioned that Hull's account books were preserved at the New England Historic Genealogical Society in Boston. He went on to relate they included three ledger entries relating to Hull's shop. I was amazed and intrigued by this statement as I did not recall any other source mentioning Hull's accounts. I corresponded with the Genealogical Society and discovered they had a set of accounts by Hull under the manuscript number CB 110. Immediately I made arrangements to see the items when I was next in Boston, which appropriately enough, was for the annual C4 (Colonial Coin Collectors Club) meeting in November of 2000.

The Thursday before the C4 meeting I spent the day in the Genealogical Society's manuscript room deciphering the ledgers. Part of the time I used a microfilm copy of the text, which gave me the opportunity to make photocopies of a few selected pages. In all there were four folio volumes written in the hand of John Hull. According to a bookplate on the inside front cover of each volume, the set was donated to the society by Dr. Winslow Lewis of Boston on November 30, 1861; another bookplate in volume one stated the volumes were bound on June 19, 1891. The microfilm of these manuscripts was given the title, *John Hull's Colony Journal*. Actually, volume one is Hull's personal ledger from the 1670s while volumes two through four are the Massachusetts Bay accounts regarding all payments related to King Philip's War. Hull was Treasurer of Massachusetts Bay at the time, as well as Treasurer of the War Committee, and maintained the official record of all debts incurred and payments received by the Commonwealth relating to this conflict.

Fortunately it was not difficult to become acclimated to Hull's handwriting, although some phrases took a while to decipher and there are some words I still cannot transcribe. I immediately realized the extraordinary value of the first volume in reconstructing Hull's finances and business partnerships and spent much time going over the 171 pages of accounts. Each two page opening in the first volume averages four to six accounts and dates from 1671 through 1679. Most of the accounts concern business dealings with specific individuals but some accounts refer to property income and expenses or corporate ventures in which Hull participated. A typical opening of individual accounts is the opening on folios 44 verso through 45 recto which contains the accounts of William East of Milford covering July 3, 1672 - May 6, 1675; Jeremiah Dummer, who had been an apprentice to Hull, covering July 3, 1672 - November 21, 1679; John Paine of Hogg Island covering July 2, 1672 - August 21, 1674 and Hull's cousin Captain Daniel Henchman covering August 27, 1672 - February 1, 1673. An interesting opening containing several property and corporate accounts is on folios 24 verso - 25 recto which includes the account for Hull's own "dwelling house" detailing three entries as follows: a debt of £203 19s10d brought over from folio 80 of ledger A; a debt incurred on October 9, 1671, "To Building my little stone house of office" at £18 and finally a debt incurred in November of 1672 "To John Dewey for clabording £6 & nailes 40s" for a total of £8.

Of all the accounts in the ledger there is one account that is particularly important to numismatists. This is an account relating to the activity at Hull's shop and mint for the period from October 18, 1671, through September 27, 1680. This account is found at the bottom of the opening on folios 26 verso through 27 recto and is continued on 133 verso through 134 recto and then again on 170 verso through 171 recto. Earlier and later shop and mint entries are in other ledger books that have either not survived or have not yet been identified. At the C4 convention I excitedly showed Phil Mossman a photocopy of a page from the Hull ledger. I explained that the page contained details of mint consignments. However, at that time I had no idea of what information I would be able to extract from the accounts. About three weeks later I spoke with Mike Hodder at Stack's and mentioned I was working on Massachusetts Silver. His first question went right to the heart of the matter - Do you have any new sources? I explained I was using the Hull ledger mentioned by Clarke but as yet I did not know the significance of the content. I remember telling him there was information on some coal deliveries to the mint, consignment information and a few other items related to the daily operation of the mint but there was nothing on the emission sequence of the coins. At that point I had not received the microfilm. My information was limited to the notes I had taken when I saw the manuscript and the few photocopies I had made.

In late December I started transcribing the photocopies. When the microfilm arrived in early January I was able to make a more complete examination of the text. Up through April I spent my evenings and weekends transcribing, commenting on, digesting and analyzing the data. Hull's ledger entries give us information that can be used to better understand the daily operations at the mint. We can see how many consignments of sterling were deposited, how long they remained

at the mint and in some cases we can discover how much coinage was produced per consignment. This gives us some specific production information that allows us to better understand how Hull interpreted the regulations found in the 1652 mint legislation. It also allows us to glean some details on the size of production runs and to determine how much minting was performed in each of the years covered in the ledger.

Of course, all this information is not immediately evident. Reading the words in the ledger is only the first step. Correctly interpreting the words is the second step. For example, on August 3-4, 1680, Hull listed the following quantities of sterling as consigned to the mint:

220 · 3
538 · 3
<u>547 · 1</u>
<i>[totaled to]</i> 1306 · 3

At first glance it appears Hull made a mistake in addition, for it seems the correct total is 1305.7. However, upon closer inspection (and mulling this puzzle over for a while) it is apparent Hull used the midpoint dot to distinguish fourths, thus the first number is 220 3/4. Once we recognize the system we discover Hull correctly added the sums. There were other examples of words and symbols that are not immediately apparent. Also, most entries needed further explanations as Hull wrote only brief notes, including just the basic facts. Thus, after transcribing the text of the mint account it was necessary to write a commentary on how to interpret each entry. This commentary allowed me to explain precisely how I interpreted and understood each ledger entry. In my forthcoming book the entire mint ledger commentary is included as Appendix I.

In April 2000, I started synthesizing the ledger information with other sources to determine how the ledger entries could help understand production practices at the mint. The material divided into two sections. One section relates to economic factors and discusses coin weight, mint charges and the relative value of Massachusetts silver. Another section focuses on production issues with discussions of mint procedures, consignments, productivity, turnaround time, the size of melts at the mint and discussions of individuals associated with the mint and the roles they may have had in contributing to the operation of the mint. These discussions were combined with related research I had done on the location of the Massachusetts Bay Mint and an investigation of the value of the eight reales in Britain and Massachusetts Bay. Like the ledger research, these topics were developed from my studies for the mint chronology. These are the main sections in my forthcoming work. Phil Mossman agreed to read my drafts. He commented on several versions of the text through the spring, summer and fall and as editor for the C4 monograph series he is currently (it is now December) proofreading the volume.

Is the Hull Ledger Complete?

One important point relative to a study of Hull's mint account concerns the completeness of the account. On one level we must understand a seventeenth century ledger does not follow the same accounting practices we use in the twenty-first century. We are interested in profit and thus list all expenses and credits that will help us determine profit. For Hull a ledger was a balance sheet that told him what he owed to others and what was owed to him. It was not a full listing of every mint-related cost; for example no entry would be included for time spent engraving dies. A discussion of the nature and use of the ledger is found in the forthcoming monograph. In this article I would like to address another aspect of completeness. By this I mean, did the mint account reflect all the mint transactions or was it limited to Hull's transactions? In other words, do we have only half the picture? Was there another ledger with Sanderson's transactions?

Information derived from the ledger concerning the daily operating practices of the mint would not be adversely affected if the current ledger reflected just Hull's portion of the business. For example, if the oven at the mint had a capacity of twenty-five troy pounds of silver per melt (12 oz. troy = 1 troy lb.), that fact would remain constant whether we had part or all of the records. However, if the ledger only includes Hull's portion of the operation, the information would not reflect total annual production rates. Thus, the completeness of the ledger is an important question.

After careful consideration I believe the mint account in Hull's ledger represents the complete mint account for both partners. One reason is that the account includes the full amount of the annual payments to Massachusetts Bay. The seven year contract renewal of June 3, 1675, stated: "... the said minters are to pay in to the Treasurer of the Country, in mony, twenty pounds per Anno..." (Crosby, p. 82). All these annual payments are reflected in full in the account. If there were two accounts, one for Hull and another for Sanderson, one would expect a sharing of the payment. Possibly each would pay half or they would alternate so one paid then the following year the other would pay. That all payments are recorded in full suggest this represents the complete mint account. Further, there is an entry by Hull dated December 4, 1677, stating he borrowed 24 oz. 3 dwt. 18 gr. in sterling silver from the account, later on August 24, 1678, he recorded that he paid back the account. If this represented his private account there would be no need for him to pay himself back since he would simply have taken the silver as part of his share of the profits. Unfortunately, the distribution of the profits were not recorded in the ledger because when income exceeded expenses, the surplus income was simply taken off the books and not carried forward. I assume it was shared between the partners. Thus, that the annual payments are recorded in full and items taken out by Hull are returned rather than kept as part of his profit lead me to suspect this is the full mint account.

Epilogue

When C4 agreed to publish my book, Gary Trudgen, who had read the manuscript, asked if I could write a summary article for *CNL*. Rather than a summary I asked if I could provide an article on a related topic that would complement what I had done. As the book focuses on economic and technological considerations I thought it would be appropriate to address political aspects of the mint in this article, as it is sometimes thought the mint was closed for political rather than economic reasons. The facts presented above are based on information I researched and included in the chronology. Actually, the chronology includes significantly more details and citations on the events than are presented here. However, in this article I have added more interpretation and analysis than is possible in a simple chronology. Further, the comments on the Hull ledger are meant to introduce the subject and to explain how I found the ledger and incorporated it into my research. In several ways I consider this article a preliminary or first consideration to a study of the mint and as such I hope it will give an added dimension to the information in the forthcoming volume. **CNL**

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Illustrations

1671		drat. of my house dwelling house				
1671		To Beought from George A. fol. 80	—	—	203	19 10
1672		To Building my little stone house & office	—	—	18	
1672		To Mr. Denys for cladding £6. 6 miles 40s	—	—	8	
1669		drat. of Lands & Housings at Virginia				
1669		To Paid to John Affire for on half of all his Inhabit of Housings land &c	£ 100			
1670		Cattle Called Excluded	.. 18 ..			
1670		To Interest of the year 1669. 1670. 1671 or 6 per cent	.. 18 ..			
1672		To Interest of 1672. 1673. 1674 at 6 per cent	.. 18 ..			
1674		To Interest of 1675. 1676. 1677 at 6 per cent	.. 18 ..			
1678. 1679		To Interest of £100 reappears at 6 per cent	.. 12 ..			
1680. 1681		To Interest of £100. 2 years at 6 per cent	.. 12 ..			
1671		drat. of Cotton House dr.				
1671		To Balcony Beought from George B. fol. 45	£ 348	8	6	
1672		To one years Interest of £300 at 6 per cent	18			
1673		To one years Interest of £300 at 6 per cent	18			
1674		To one years Interest of £300 at 6 per cent	18			
1675		To one years Interest of £300 at 6 per cent	18			
1676		To one years Interest of £300 at 6 per cent	18			
1677		To one years Interest of £300 at 6 per cent	18			
1678		To Repaire of the House & in money to manach both &c	10	11	7	
1679. Apr.		To one years Interest of £300 at 6 per cent	18			
1679. Apr.		To boards & nails for fowring £3. & to Jonath Howard mony 20 th dec. 16	4			
1680		To more mony for Posh & Boards, nails & work to fowre	15			
1681		between Capt. with cap to me & Jonath Howard				
1681		To mony paid with James Parker for repaires	11	1	7	
1682		To Interest of £300 dec. i. 79. 80. 81. 3 years at 6 per cent £18 per year	54			
1682		To mony for acc't of Mitholes Park	620			
1682		Sept 27 to may 1683. Recived difference as in Mitholes books. 32. 19. 9	. 61	11	4	
1683		June 1 To Interest of £1000 for one year in mony of £300. Rec'd dec. i. 81. to may 29 82 at 6 per cent	78			
1671		Voyage to Virginia & Confign to Mr. Thorn.				
1671		To drum, muskets, fust, wine, pape, fall, Ruggs, Blankets, marshalls	£ . 97	3	2	
1671		To Tirkings as in river & boat company	. 53	19	1	
1672		To difference on the listed fowring & vrtualizing as Book H. fol. 33. 34	110	11	7	
1672		To difference virtualizing the goods as in Book H. fol. 37	130	3	3	
1673		To difference virtualizing & cargo as Book H. fol. 39	£ 446	3	0	
1673		To generally as fol. 34				
1673		Hull — Richard Williams dr.				
1673		To Sawn timber as per his bill taken g. t. 73	1	17	6	
1673		To the mony Cased to drat of Chamberlains exchanged not being paid	1	2	6	
1673			— 3	0	9	

Figure 1: Hull's ledger, folio 24 verso. This is the debit side of the account. The first account is for Hull's "dwelling house," followed by an account for lands and housing in Virginia, the Cotton house, voyages to Virginia and an account with Richard Williams. *Account books of John Hull (Mss Cb 110)*. R Stanton Avery Special Collections Dept., New England Historic Genealogical Society. Printed with permission.

Figure 2: Hull's ledger, folio 39 verso, detail. This is the debit side of the account showing the money owed by John Winchester and Dorman Morean for rent on 16 acres of land at Muddy River (Brookline). *Account books of John Hull (Mss Cb 110).* R Stanton Avery Special Collections Dept., New England Historic Genealogical Society. Printed with permission.

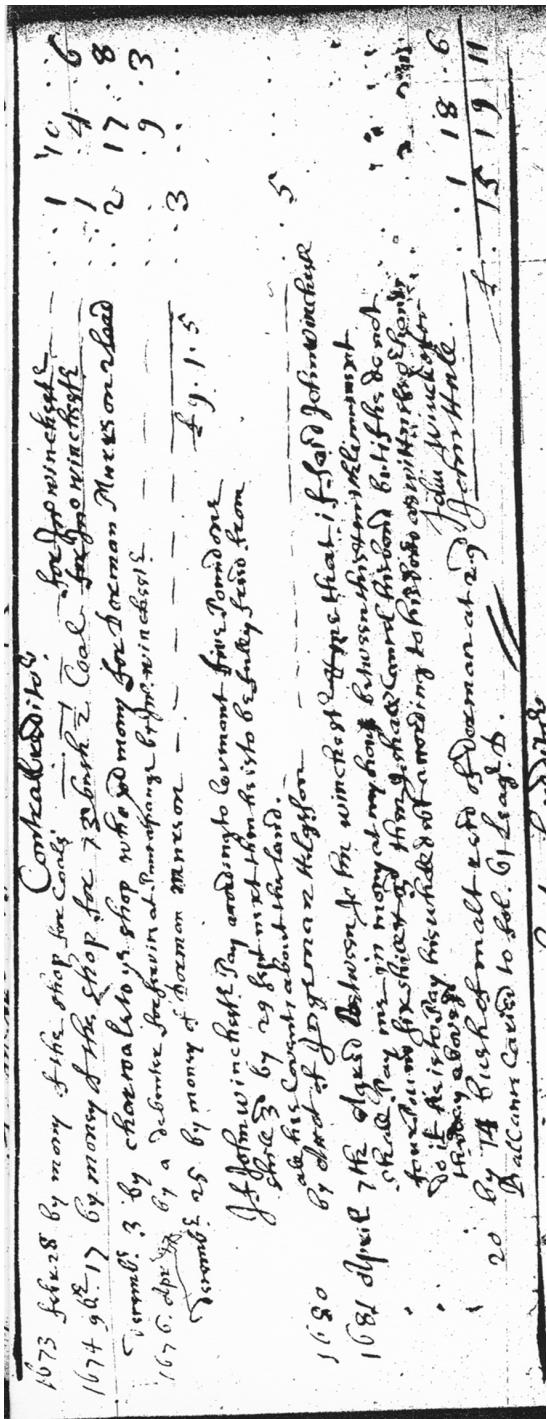


Figure 3: Hull's ledger, folio 40 recto, detail. This is the credit side of the account with John Winchester and Dorman Morean showing payments, including coal deliveries made to the Hull shop. On February 28, 1674 [listed in the old style dating as 1673 since the new year began in March], is an entry: "By money of the shop for coals - for John Winchester · 1 / 10 / ·" [that is, £1 10s]. Also, under November 17, 1674, "By money of the shop for 73 bushels 1/2 coal - for John Winchester · 1 / · 4 / 6" [that is, 73.5 bushels for £1 4s6d]. And finally under December 3 [1674], "For charcoal to ye shop whose money for Dorman Morean · 2 / 17 / 8" [that is, £2 17s8d]. *Account books of John Hull (Mss Cb 110).* R Stanton Avery Special Collections Dept., New England Historic Genealogical Society. Printed with permission.

16. 11.	To John Brewster for 30 pds of mutton & bacon, butter, onions, turnips, carrots, & turnips	£ 3. 3. 6
20. 4. 3.	To 10 pds of mutton, bacon, butter, onions, turnips, carrots, & turnips	£ 3. 3. 6
3. 5. 3.	To John Wmson for 12 lbs of flour & salt 10s	£ 1. 0. 0
Aug. 18.	To 12 lbs of flour & salt 10s	£ 1. 0. 0
Sept. 15.	To meat & fowl 12 lbs of bacon, 18. 3s, cutting 18. 8s	£ 1. 9. 9
	To custom of 2 pds of bacon & fowl after fayre	£ 1. 9. 9
Sept. 22.	To John Richwood £ 6. 0. 0 To Jas & Boston for 6 pds of bacon, 2. 6s, & 12 lbs of bacon, 8. 6s	£ 8. 4. 4
Oct. 2.	To 12 lbs of bacon for fayre 1. 6s	£ 1. 6. 0
	To 12 lbs of bacon for fayre 1. 6s	£ 1. 6. 0
	To my chark for late living & linters of a comb. 1. 13. 8	£ 1. 13. 8
21. 11.	To Job Richwood money	£ 1. 1. 1
19. 1.	To my sonne Job Richwood for fayre	£ 8. 4. 10
16. 7. 2. June 3.	To John Richwood for 12 lbs of bacon & 12 lbs of flour sent by the shop主人	£ 1. 6. 4
Aug. 16.	To charge of 3 lbs mutton for Mrs. John Sanford £ 10. 7. 4d	£ 10. 7. 4d
Oct. 2.	To charge of 12 lbs of bacon £ 13. 0	£ 13. 0
Oct. 3. Nov. 27.	To Paid ye shop for mending pott & 3 spoons off set £ 10. 6d	£ 10. 6d
	£ 8. 9. 0	£ 10

Figure 4: Hull's ledger, folio 13 verso, detail. This is the debit side of the account with William Brenton. Among the charges are two relating to the silversmith shop. One is from June 3, 1672, "To Mrs. Sanford a silver whissle paid to the shop mony · · · / · 9 / · 4" [that is, 9s4d for a silver whistle to Mrs. John Sanford] and from May 27, 1673, "To [be] paid ye shop for mending a pott & 3 spoons and silver added 10 · 6" [that is, 10s6d]. *Account books of John Hull (Mss Cb 110).* R Stanton Avery Special Collections Dept., New England Historic Genealogical Society. Printed with permission.

Peter Rosa's Replicas of Colonial Coins

by

John M. Kleeberg; New York, NY



Vermont Copper: 1785, reverse, accession number 2000.17.15.



Bar Copper: Obverse, accession number 2000.17.16.



Virginia Halfpenny: 1773, obverse, accession number 2000.17.17.

Figure 1: Peter Rosa dies. Shown actual size. *Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.*

Wayne Sayles, whose publications in the field of ancient coins may be known to readers of *The Colonial Newsletter*, recently donated to the American Numismatic Society a set of coin dies made by Peter Rosa. Peter Rosa was born on January 2, 1926. He worked for the stamping and casting firm of Taylor Industries with offices at 250 West Broadway and a manufactory on Staten Island, both within New York City. A resident of the Bronx, another New York City borough, Rosa produced numerous replicas of ancient Greek and Roman coins. He also produced many replicas of colonial coins and territorial gold, which he sold under the name of the "Becker Manufacturing Company." The choice of the name was no accident: Rosa saw himself as the heir to the great German diesinker (and friend of Goethe), Carl Wilhelm Becker, whose copies of ancient coins can be so deceptive (see Hill 1924). Rosa considered himself an honorable person producing replicas of works of art at an affordable price for the masses. He was hostile to the introduction of the Hobby Protection Act, which he saw as damaging his works of art. Some of his replicas are marked with COPY on the edge. He died in the autumn of 1990 of cancer: I have come across two possible dates for his death, either October 5th or November 11th.

Sayles' donation comprised 333 dies, nearly all for Greek and Roman coins. Included in Sayles' donation were three dies for replicas of colonial coins, namely:

Vermont copper, 1785, reverse.

Bar copper obverse.

Virginia halfpenny, 1773, obverse.

The Vermont die is an almost perfect imitation of a Ryder 4 (Bressett C). The bar copper appears to have been made free hand; the Rosa copy may be distinguished by a circular notch at the right foot of the A of USA. They often have a slick, shiny surface; closer examination reveals granularity and loss of detail.

A Rosa copy donated by Wayne Sayles – a uniface version of an Excelsior copper (2000.30.1) – suggests that Rosa would strike uniface copies out of lead sheets (see Figure 2). He then applied a patina that gave the piece the appearance of copper. The scissel was removed and the two halves soldered together. The weights of his pieces vary greatly. There is a seam visible on the edge, but it is usually difficult to see.

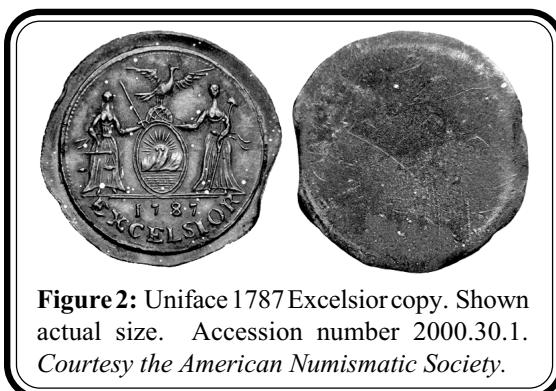


Figure 2: Uniface 1787 Excelsior copy. Shown actual size. Accession number 2000.30.1.
Courtesy the American Numismatic Society.

irreplacable if they were stolen and melted. Rosa made negative molds of Society coins using dental alginate. The Society allowed Rosa to make a mold of only one side of each coin, to forestall any potential misuse. The Rosa copies in the ANS World of Coins exhibit can be distinguished by their orange color.

So, in short, Rosa appears to have made casts of genuine coins with dental alginate and copied them using a Janvier lathe. If a portion of the coin was not fully reproduced on the cast, his copies would also be weak in that area. This gave him dies which he used to strike his copies.

Eric P. Newman located in his files a price list for the Becker Manufacturing Company products. He wrote that the Becker copies in his collection are numbered on the envelopes, and the numbers tie into the price list. The price list reads as follows:

2. Sommer Island Shilling 1616	3.00
3. Sommer Island Sixpence 1616	2.50
4. Sommer Island Threepence 1616	2.50
5. Sommer Island Twopence 1616	2.50
6. NE Shilling 1652	3.00
7. NE Sixpence 1652	2.50
9. Willow Tree Shilling 1653-60	3.00
10. Willow Tree Sixpence 1653-60	2.50
11. Willow Tree Threepence 1653-60	2.50
12. Oak Tree Shilling 1660-67	3.00
14. Oak Tree Threepence 1660-67	2.50
15. Oak Tree Twopence 1662	2.50
16. Pine Tree Shilling - lg. planchet 1667	3.00
17. Pine Tree Shilling - sm. planchet 1675	3.00
18. Pine Tree Sixpence 1675	2.50
19. Pine Tree Threepence 1675	2.50
21. Lord Baltimore Shilling 1658	3.00
22. Lord Baltimore Sixpence 1658	2.50
23. Lord Baltimore Fourpence 1658	2.50
25. St. Patrick Halfpence 1678	3.00
26. St. Patrick Silver Farthing 1678	3.00
31. Rosa Americana Twopence 1723	3.50
32. Rosa Americana Penny 1723	3.00
33. Rosa Americana Halfpence 1723	2.50
36. Rosa Americana Twopence (Pattern) 1733	3.50
37. Hibernia Halfpenny, Type I 1722	3.00
39. Hibernia Halfpenny, Type II 1723	3.00

Sayles has come across a copy of a tetradrachm of Naxos depicting a drunken Silenus, of which Rosa created replicas as small fractions and as large multiples. The Rosa replicas follow exactly a known tetradrachm die. So Rosa may have had access to a Janvier lathe to cut enlarged and reduced dies.

When the American Numismatic Society put together its World of Coins exhibit in 1983, Rosa was hired to produce replicas of ancient gold pieces, because those pieces would be

40. Hibernia Farthing 1723	2.50
41. Hibernia Halfpenny 1724	3.00
42. Hibernia Farthing 1724	2.50
48. Vermontensium 1786	3.00
60. George Clinton Cent 1787	3.00
61. Indian N.Y. Arms Cent 1787	3.00
64. Immunis Columbia Cent 1787	3.00
65. Nova Eborac Cent 1787	3.00
77. Conn. ETLIB INDE Cent 1787	3.00
79. Conn. Horned Bust Variety Cent 1787	3.00
80. Conn. Draped Bust Left Cent 1787	3.00
84. Mass. Pine Tree Copper 1776	3.50
85. Mass. Halfpenny "Janus Copper" 1776	3.00
86. Mass. Cent 1787	3.00
88. Mass. Half Cent 1787	2.50
89. Mass. Cent 1788	3.00
90. Mass. Half Cent 1788	2.50
99. N. J. Cent, Outlined Variety 1787	3.00
104. Continental Dollar 1776	4.00
105. Nova Constellatio, Pattern 1783	3.50
109. Nova Constellatio, Copper 1783	3.00
112. Nova Constellatio, Copper 1786	3.00
125. Brasher's Gold Doubloon 1787	3.50
126. Brasher's Half Doubloon 1787	3.00
131. Higley Copper – Axe 1737	3.00
138. Bar Cent 1785	3.00
140. Talbot Allum & Lee Cent 1794	3.00
141. Talbot Allum & Lee Cent 1795	3.00
142. God Preserve New England 1694	3.00
143. Carolina Elephant Token 1694	3.00
144. God Preserve London 1694	3.00
146. Virginia Halfpenny 1773	3.00
147. Virginia Penny 1773	3.00
149. Georgius Triumpho Token 1783	3.00
150. Auctori Plebis Token 1787	3.00
151. Kentucky Token 1792	3.00
152. Middleton Token 1796	3.00
157. Florida 1/24 Real Token 1688	3.50
159. Franklin Press Cent 1794	3.00
160. Voce Populi Halfpenny 1700	3.00
163. Voce Populi – Farthing 1760	2.50
165. Rhode Island Ship Token 1778-79	3.00
166. Castorland Medal 1796	3.00
172. George Washington, President 1789	3.00
189. Fugio Cent 1787	3.00
194. Piece of Eight Cob 1715	3.50
195. Gold Doubloon Philip V 1736	3.50
196. \$50 California Gold Slug 1850	4.50
197. \$20 Colorado Gold Ingot 1860	3.50

This listing is obviously incomplete. We can guess at some of the items that sold out early – e.g. the New England threepence – but not at others. I shall key my catalogue to this list by referring to the numbers as BMC, short for “Becker Manufacturing Company.”

Wayne Sayles is currently working on a book on ancient copies, which will devote a chapter to Peter Rosa. But Peter Rosa's products also concern collectors and researchers in colonial Americana. Rosa is responsible for the New Hampshire and Massachusetts pine tree coppers that have sown much confusion.

Although his California private gold pieces are not deceptive to a collector who knows what gold looks like – they are made out of base metal, and have a very orange color – he also struck territorial gold pieces in copper. An example is a Kellogg & Co. double eagle of 1854. The copper variety can be ascribed to Rosa because of certain defects that also appear on the goldine versions: pimples along the cheekbone and a straight, horizontal raised cut in the middle of the neck. A researcher who is not careful might think the Rosa copper copy was a hitherto unreported Kellogg pattern.

Rosa ran regular advertisements in the numismatic press. There is clearly much more information out there to be gathered about the copies prepared by Rosa and the Becker Manufacturing Company. I hope this will be the beginning of a series of comments on these copies, so that we can prepare a complete listing of the colonial and territorial copies, and remedy the confusion.

CATALOGUE

- 2000.17.15,** Reverse die for Vermont 1785 copper, Ryder 4, Bressett C, Breen 712, BMC-.
- 1989.99.139,** Coin struck from this die, Ryder 4, Bressett 3-C, Breen 712, BMC-, 7.73 grams. The eyebrow is further from the eye than is the case on a genuine coin. It is also longer and thinner.
- 2000.17.16,** Obverse die for bar copper, Breen 1145, BMC 138.
- 1989.99.166,** Coin struck from this die, Breen 1145, BMC 138, 10.35 grams. There is a curved notch on the right foot of the A of USA.
- 2000.17.17,** Obverse die for Virginia halfpenny, 1773, Breen 180, BMC 146.
- 1989.99.174,** Coin struck from this die, Breen 180, BMC 146, 10.93 grams. The G and the S of GEORGIVS are lower than the rest of the word. REX is spaced very far apart.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many thanks to Wayne Sayles for his donation and for supplying additional information. Ken Bressett, Leslie Elam and Bill Metcalf also read this article and made several helpful suggestions; the details of Rosa's business career come from Elam. Eric P. Newman supplied useful documents from his files.

REFERENCE LIST

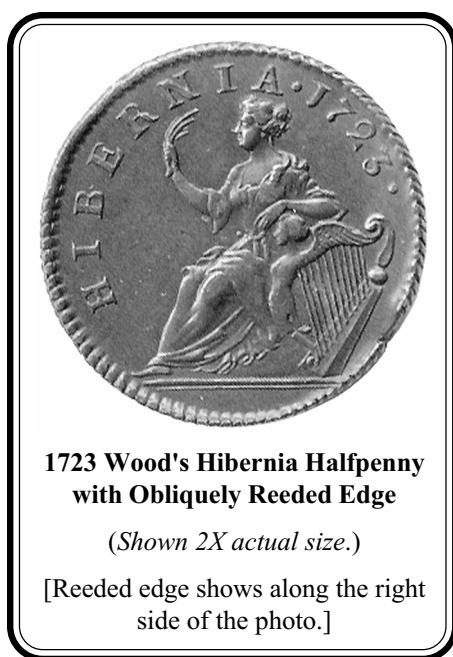
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DISCOVERED: WOOD'S MONEY WITH A REEDED EDGE

by
Brian J. Danforth, Ph.D.; Slingerlands, NY

(TN-186)

In 1998, I was fortunate in obtaining at the C4 Convention, a most interesting 1723 Wood's Hibernia halfpenny that has an obliquely reeded edge. I have been unable to locate any reference to another such coin. When I presented it at the C4 Convention the following year, several patrons who have an interest in Wood's Money informed me that they also had never seen a coin of this type. Even Robert Vlack's extensive collection of Wood's coppers did not have an example.



The coin is noted as follows:

It is in mint state condition with a Breen 159 attribution with eleven harp strings. It weighs 108 grains and measures 26 mm in diameter. The obliquely reeded edge is finely constructed by a mechanical process that occurred after striking which is consistent with edging machines of the era. The coin, as well as the edging, was noted by viewing patrons as being contemporary.

Based upon my research of Wood's Money that has been published in both *The Colonial Newsletter* and *The C4 Newsletter*, I relate the following:

- (1.) The Bowers & Merena sale on March 25, 1988 of the Norweb Collection, Lot # 2403, highlighted an obliquely reeded edge 1722 Rosa Americana Penny listed as a contemporary proof whose edge was made by a mechanical process after striking. It was further described as being a Presentation Coin;
- (2.) Walter Breen in his *Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins* listed the existence of a "crude" reeded edge 1722 Rosa Americana Penny in the subtext to the standard Breen 115 type — in my conversation with the coin's discoverer, it was conveyed that the edge could be better described as being "coarse";
- (3.) Jonathan Swift in his attacks on Wood's Money stated as one of his objections the concern that the coins would be counterfeited since they did not have a reeded edge. As proof of this eventuality, Swift stated that counterfeiters were already at work reproducing Wood's Money to the detriment of the Irish economy. Swift asserted that this problem could have been averted if William Wood had produced a reeded edge coin as had been provided on other Irish coins to ensure authenticity — see the edging on St. Patrick coppers and the gunmoney coins of James II; and
- (4.) Numismatic literature postulates that William Wood did not produce a reeded edge Hibernia coin because it would have taken an additional step in the minting process, which would have increased manufacturing costs and reduced profits to the disadvantage of the Pattee.

In addition to this coin being comparable in edging to Norweb's Rosa Americana Presentation Penny, it is possible that Wood contemplated an obliquely reeded edge for the Hibernia halfpence in order to explore a process that would address some of the concerns of his detractors. Such a design change would represent a contrast to Wood's often reported stance that "he would cram his brass down their throats" in spite of Irish opposition to his coppers as uttered.

The question posed herein to *CNL* patrons is whether anyone has seen another contemporary example of a Wood's Hibernia copper with a mechanically made reeded edge. Such information would assist in furthering our understanding of the interesting history surrounding Wood's Money.

ASK the EDITORS**AE-16 Beware of Counterfeits
from
J. C. Spilman; Editor Emeritus**

Sometime ago on the Internet, specifically eBay, there appeared the following description of an old newspaper for sale:

"Complete ORIGINAL newspaper, the Massachusetts Centinel (Boston) dated Sep 12, 1787. Long inside page description of an American Colonial Coin. Great early numismatic item."

The description of the "American Colonial Coin" reads:

ALBANY, August 30. BEWARE of COUNTERFEITS.

The publick are requested to beware how they receive Counterfeits of the emission of 1774 and 1775. — The true are composed of sterling metal — that of the counterfeit is very BASE; so slightly washed over with silver, as in many places to betray its scruginous (?) complexion. — The word, LIBERTY on the true coin, is elegantly and regularly embossed — but on the counterfeit it is most bunglingly engraved — the letters being placed at unequal distances, and capitals with small characters injudiciously huddled together. By scraping away the wash, you will find that the word so clumsily transformed to LIBERTY was originally LICENSE. — The words PUBLICA FIDES are faintly impressed, and appear, by holding the piece to the light, to be PUNICA FIDES, also very indifferently altered. — The noble Snake of thirteen parts, so conspicuous in the emission of 1774, in the counterfeits appears like a viper, of the most venomous species, said to be peculiar to the cliffs of Berkshire and Rhode-Island — And the dragon ready to devour, is here transformed into the American bald Eagle.

The bust, on the reverse of the true coin, represents GENERAL WASHINGTON, crowned with laurels — that on the counterfeits bears a nearer resemblance to SHAYS; and instead of the laurel wreath, the hemlock bough is discernable on the head. — The word FABIUS, by a blunder of the counterfeiter, is mistaken for FACTIOUS.

One would from this description be led to imagine, that there was little danger of a deception — experience, however, shows the contrary. The counterfeits have had a surprizing circulation in Massachusetts — are the standing currency of Rhode-Island — and have been industriously introduced into several parts of this State. They ring unaccountably shrill, which has deceived many honest people — and the glare of their appearance catches the eye of the superficial, with whom All is gold that glistens. Many appear much pleased with the ridiculous jumble of Italian, Roman and German capital and small characters in the inscription, and confidently assert (?) this is the genuine coin of 1775.

N.B. Worne a while in the same pocket with gold, it imparts its rust.

I posted the photograph of this numismatic clipping on the Coins-Colonial eGroup discussion list, and commented as follows:

Note in particular the statement in the clipping that:

"... the counterfeits have had a surprising circulation in Massachusetts – are the standing currency of Rhode-Island, and have been industrially introduced into this State."

Does this broad statement apply to THIS counterfeit or to counterfeits in general? In any case – there must have been huge amounts of them to warrant this comment. The newspaper brought \$34.99 on eBay. One bidder.

An interpretation of this rather difficult-to-read clipping was prepared by *CNL* Patron Mike Ringo and posted on the eGroup. He said:

"The description of this 'coin' is so bizarre, I can't believe that it refers to a counterfeit that actually existed. Rather, I think it is an allegorical reference to counterfeiting in general (or perhaps to a specific counterfeiter) and a political statement against it. LIBERTY was originally LICENSE could be taken to mean the right to coin money has been abused or too much liberty has been taken."

"PUBLICA FIDES (the public trust)...appear...to be PUNICA FIDES (roughly translatable as blushing trust or embarrassment) could be taken to mean an eroding public confidence due to counterfeiting activities. 'The noble Snake of thirteen parts (the U.S.)...in the counterfeits appears like a viper, of the most venomous species, said to be peculiar to the cliffs of Berkshire and Rhode-Island' (both were well-known areas of counterfeiting activities for many years, and the author's opinion of counterfeitors is obvious).

"The word FABIUS (a Roman race or clan), by a blunder of the counterfeiter, is mistaken for FACTIOUS (divisive) seems to mean that the public has been divided. The comparison of Washington to Shays is to me the most interesting metaphor – Daniel Shays was one of the leaders of Shays' Rebellion in 1786-87, which was a revolt by a group of farmers and landowners who had not been repaid in hard money for their support of the Revolution, and whose land was being taken for back taxes. See: <http://homepages.go.com/~danielshays/shays/shays.html> for more info. This contrast between Washington and Shays seems to indicate that the author of the article thought that Shays was a rogue (or possibly even a counterfeiter?) and a threat to the general well-being of the public.

"I think there is a lot more to this article than meets the eye, and I have a couple of other leads to check out that may help explain more of it. I believe the most likely type of counterfeit being referred to is Spanish-American silver."

Signed — Mike Ringo

SO – *CNL* Editors – What is the identity of the counterfeit "coin" being discussed in this newspaper article? **JCS**

**Answer from CNL Associate Editor
Louis Jordan**

I agree with Mike Ringo that this is an allegorical article. It refers to counterfeits in general, not to a specific coin. The phrases were selected not because they had been found on a specific coin but because they could be transformed into their exact opposite by changing a few letters. Actually it is rather clever and amusing: PUBLICA becomes PUNICA, LIBERTY becomes LICENSE, etc.

LIBERTY by scrapping away the wash was originally LICENSE.

Liberty (freedom with responsibility) becomes License (reckless and irresponsible).

PUBLICA FIDES is over PUNICA FIDES.

Public Faith (or as Mike uses – trust) that is faith in the value of the coinage, becomes Punic Faith (or trust).

Punic refers to Ancient Carthage. In the Oxford Latin Dictionary Punica is defined as, either (1.) Of Carthage and (2.) Of the craft and deceit traditionally associated with Carthaginians. Thus Punica fides is translated as Punic faith (or trust) meaning deceitful faith (or trust).

The thirteen sectioned snake (representing the US states) becomes a viper.

Washington (the respected general) is transformed into Shays (an insurgent who many considered was a mutineer against the nation).

Laurel wreath (ancient symbol of victory) replaced by hemlock (deadly poison).

FABIUS by a blunder is replaced by FACTIOUS.

Fabius was a famous Roman General from the second Punic war. Called Cuncator (the delayor) he kept Hannibal at bay for many years and thus preserved Rome.

Thus Fabius (like Washington a preserver of the state) is replaced by FACTIOUS (meaning contentious or discordant and clearly alluding to Shays).

Certainly this is not a specific item but an allegory for counterfeit coins in general. They pose as something respectable but are actually something quite harmful. The final phrase, "Many appear much pleased with the ridiculous jumble of Italian, Roman and German capital and small characters in the inscriptions, and confidently assert (?) this is the genuine coin," is meant to show that anyone who believes the mass of foreign coinage in circulation are legitimate issues with a true intrinsic value are in fact deceiving themselves.

I take his final warning "worne a while in the same pocket with gold, it imparts its rust" as a suggestion that the circulation of these base coins will eventually corrode confidence in the legitimate coinage in circulation.

The "coin" described in this article is an allegory for the various counterfeit coinages in circulation. They give the outward appearance of being legitimate issues but on closer inspection they are perversions that eventually could corrupt the economy.

Some references in the text may refer to trends the author believes to be true, hence his statement about counterfeits proliferating in Massachusetts and Rhode Island and entering into New York (he writes from Albany which is not far from where Shays' Rebellion occurred in western Massachusetts). **LEJ**